1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion in citizenship, the bearing of arms, arts and crafts, history and tradition and ordinary religious observance. The *calmecac* was in the nature of a seminary for special training in priestly and chiefly duties, and several of them were maintained near the temples of important gods. The *calmecac* seems to have been an addition to ordinary training, required by the development of ritual, whereas the *telpuchcalli* carried on in special quarters instruction given in a simpler day by the old men of the clan. Other schools trained young women to be priestesses; they also learned to weave skillfully and to make featherwork for preparation of priestly vestments. (See Plate 39, top left.)

A youth was ready for marriage at twenty, and a girl was deemed mature at about sixteen. The parents arranged the marriage with the consent of the boy and girl. A priest was consulted to decide whether or not the fates of the couple were harmonious. Incest laws like our own prevailed with the further restriction that marriage must be outside the clan. Having satisfied these conventions, the father of the boy sent two elderly clanswomen with gifts to the girl's father, who, following custom, rejected the suit. The old ladies returned again to consult in earnest with the parents of the prospective bride. Such a discussion was necessarily intricate, since it involved the amount of the bride's dowry, which was to be balanced by the gifts of her suitor.

On the evening of the wedding one of the matchmakers carried the bride on her back over the threshold of the husband's house. Elaborate speeches were made by everyone, following which the mantles of the bride and groom were tied together, symbolizing the union. The old men and women gave tongue again in the form of long-winded homilies, and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged between families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions created a social and economic stratification. In theory and practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796[x] [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato*, and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They carried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire.'And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

584 [412] [777] [276] 585 [482] 313 [312]

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuujesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o lefia. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determinauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le auian de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, auiendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izquierda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn mastli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esquina de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[8] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatzoxic*.[9]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[10] And his costly breech clout reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiooalli*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tozoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl*;[11] and they tied to his long hair[12] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa quiquixtiaia: in motenoca xuchineapátli. 796x 301

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaqujaia icxiolnacoch, tenxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuxcatl, yn jcuxquj, oc cepa yielpançuxquj ixtac cilin. [306]

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiquipalli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquixtli in contetecatiuh, achi vel quiztlatlamja yn jmatzotziopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynic tentlaixoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quimexxopeoa: [292]

auh njman ie ycxiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: ichoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquixti: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioua, in ichoatl miquja ce xiujtl: 796x

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompochiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, ciboatl quittaia, mocioxoatiaia ipan vey tozoztli. [584 595]

Auh quitepeoaia, quitlatlaliaia, quicaua, yn jnechchicoal ocatca, yn ipan omotlikçaubtinenca, moxima, mjxquaxtzontia, iuhqujnma ixutequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yxxtaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech quiJpia: [302 701] [283 301]

çan ompoalilhuitl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioxoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan: [833]

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, viztocioatl. [551]

Auh in ie itenla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

8. *"Como orejillas de oro"* (Sahagún: *loc. cit.*).
9. *"Llevaua a las espaldas, un ornamento como bolsa, de su palma en quadro de hasta hilarzo, con sus borlas y flecadura"* (*loc. cit.*).
10. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante edition), Vol. II, p. 310.
11. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 161. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: *"con una franxa cortisca, comunmẽ appella mudarca de los caballos, dos borlas con sus listones, hechas de plumas, y oro, y turbantejil, muy curiosas, que ellos llamauan ximonjli."* Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 98) describes "The first kind of ornament [which] has a design called, by Sahagún, *xiuhcoatl*, because of the curious manner in *turbanteil* or red rabbit's fur; the ground of which[cloth] enclosed in a square of cloth red, has alternate of white feathers. The fringe is also of red *turbanteil*." From this, it would appear that *turbanteil* is red string, and *turbanteil* a red dyeing of rabbit's hair.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

H. H. Bancroft to whom every student of American antiquities must look with a deep feeling of gratitude for his valuable services, says on the subject: "marriages between blood relations or those descended from a common ancestor were not allowed."[108] The act of marriage itself was preceded by negotiations on the part of one calpulli (that of the man) with another (that of the woman), the negotiations terminating in something like a *purchase* of the girl.[109] It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the

they did not reckon the children, born in foreign tribes or lineages, as belonging to their family; although if the mother had issued from their lineage, and the reason for this was, that this relationship was only attributed to the men." Now this is a very plain statement and picture of "descent in the male line," with the rules of kinship as strongly and fully in vigor as, with "descent in the female line" among the Iroquois. The inhabitants of Vera-Paz spoke, according to *Herrera* (Dec. IV, cap. X, cap. XIV, p. 220), "varios Lenguages," but they selected one at the instance of the Dominican fathers, "to use it in general." *Dr. Berendt* ("*Remarks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America and their Geographical Distribution*," address read July 10, 1876. pp. 9 and 10) mentions in Vera-Paz three idioms: the "Kekchi" (Alta Verapaz), "Pokoman" (in the South), and the "QQuiché" (Western Verapaz). See also *E. G. Squier*, ("*Monograph of Authors who have written on the Languages of Central America*," Introd., p. IX). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. IX. p. 769). *Diego García de Palacio* ("*Report to the King of Spain in 1576*," German translation by the late *Dr. Alex von Frantzius*, pp. 4 and 64). *Pimentel* ("*Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas*," etc., Vol. I, pp. 81–84). The close connection in customs and Institutions (see my notes in regard to the calendars of Mexico and Central America) between the QQuiché and the Mexicans, and the probable identity of their origin, make it not unlikely that the latter had also the same rule, "not to marry within the tribe or lineage," or rather in the kin. As every tribe in Mexico consisted of a number of Calpulli, there was no need of selecting the wife from outside of the settlement. The manner of arranging marriages furnishes direct evidence of the fact, that the wife was, at least usually, from another kinship. (See note 109.) See especially, besides, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 222).

[108] "*Native Races*" (Vol II, cap. VII, p. 251).

[109] Not only the consent of the young man's parents was requisite, but also that of the "teipuchtlato" (speaker to the youth) of his "barrio" or calpulli, *i. e.*, of his kin. This fact is abundantly proven. *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIII, pp. 152, 153) says: The "speaker" was invited to the house and after having "eaten and smoked," "the old parents of the young man, and the old men of the barrio sat down," and the case was told to them. The "speaker" then took formal leave of the youth "y dejaban al moso en su casa de su padre." (Lib. III, Appendix, cap. VI, p. 271), he again insists that the consent of the "maestros de los mancebos" was required. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," p. 132): "Lorsqu'ils étaient d'âge á se marier, c'est á dire á vingt ans ou un peu plus, ils en demandaient l'autorisation" (p. 134). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125): "Llegados á la edad de casarse . . . pedian licencia para buscar mujer; y sin licencia por maravilla alguno se casaba, y al que lo hacia, demas de darle su penitencia, lo tenian por ingrato, malcriado y como apóstata" . . . *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXX). It was the kin of the male which solicited the girl, and this solicitation was carried on by women, who brought presents. Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 251 to 262). *Velancurt* (Part II, Trat. II, cap. XII, p. 477. "*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I). If the male needed it, "the community" assisted him. See above authorities, and others.

The controlling influence of the *Kin*, in matters of marriage, was officially recognized, as late as 1555, by the first provincial "concile" held at Mexico in that year. It was ordained: "That since it is customary among the Indians Maceguales not to marry without permission ("licencia") of their principals, nor to take any women, unless it

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

582 It is beyond our purpose, at present, to dwell on the
[562] ritual details themselves, but we must lay particular stress on the fact, that the wife became the *property* of her husband and that she was, as such, placed under the direct protection of his kinsmen. Such marriages could be annulled by mutual consent, [586] provided the kin gave its approbation. In such a case the woman was at liberty to marry again, and also to return to the calpulli from which she issued.[110]

764 We might now be expected to cast a glance at the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans since it was *one of the attributes of the kin to enjoy common burial.*[111] But this question is so intimately connected with that of creed and belief that we refrain from trespassing too much on that field. The Mexicans practised cremation and, in the case of warriors slain in battle, at least, it is known that the exercises were conducted by the officers and leaders of each kin, *all its members*, and not the special relatives and friends only of the deceased, attending the ceremony.[112] Our knowledge of the burial places of aboriginal Mexico is still very indefi-

583 was given by their hand, out of which there arise great discomforts, and marriage
584 among free persons is not as free as it should be, therefore, we ordain and command: that no Indian principal of whichever condition or rank ("estado,") shall of his own accord or authority give away any wife to anybody whatsoever, nor shall he prevent any Macegual from marrying freely the woman whom he may wish, and who may like him,— under penalty of thirty days of imprisonment, and other penalties which the Judge may determine upon."

("*Concilios Provinciales, Primero y Segundo, celebrados por la muy noble, y muy Leal ciudad de Mexico etc., etc. Dalos á Luz el Il'mo Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia* Año de 1769). The "principales Indios" are the officers of the "Kins," and thus we have, thirty five years after the conquest, a formal recognition of the custom among the Mexican Indians that marriage was controlled by the Kin. How the "encomenderos" subsequently interfered with that custom, in order to conceal their own criminal doings, is plainly told by *Fray Antonio de Remesal* "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala, etc., etc.*" Madrid, 1619 (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 327).

[110] It is singular that some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers imply that there was no rule of repudiation or divorce among the ancient Mexicans. *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 303). The same authority, however, attributes this to the baneful effects of contact with the Spaniards, in consequence of which the customs of the natives grew more or less dissolute and immoral (p. 304). *Zurita* (p. 97) confirms, and *Torquemada* (Lib. XVI, cap. XXIV, p. 196), copies Mendieta literally. For the customs of divorce see *Zurita* (p. 97), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVIII, p. 304), *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XV, pp. 441 and 442). *Gomara* (Vedia I, p. 440). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap. C, XVII, pp. 72 and 73), *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*," p. 196), and others. The division of property mentioned as accompanying the divorce, applies only to personal effects, since the wife brought nothing else. See "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 429, and note 107).

The matrimonial customs of the ancient Mexicans will be more thoroughly discussed by me in another monograph, subsequent to one on "Religious Beliefs."

[111] "*Ancient Society*" (pp. 71 and 83).

[112] Compare *Duran* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 154 and 156), and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXV, pp. 37 and 38).